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## NOTE

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## SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 16 July 1974, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Javier PÉREZ de CUÉLLAR (Peru).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1779)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
  - (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
  - (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335)

*The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.*

### Tribute to the memory of General Juan Domingo Perón, President of the Argentine Republic

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am sure that I shall be reflecting the sentiments of the members of the Council in extending to the Government and people of the Argentine Republic and to its Permanent Representative to the United Nations our condolences upon the death on the first of this month of General Juan Domingo Perón, President of the Argentine Republic. May I be allowed, as a Latin American representative in the Council and as the representative of Peru, a sister nation closely linked to the Argentine Republic, to pay a tribute to one of the most exceptional political personalities of our continent in this century who valiantly, for many years, identified himself with the great premises of what is today the third world, and was thus a pioneer in many important struggles which the developing countries have already won or are still waging.

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before we begin the consideration of our agenda for today, I should like, on behalf of the Security Council,

to express the gratitude of all its members for the important services rendered by Ambassador El Hassen, the representative of Mauritania, as President during the month of June. I take pleasure in placing on record our appreciation of the unusual qualities of wisdom, tact and cordiality with which he conducted both the informal consultations and the public debates of the Council.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in Cyprus:

- (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
- (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335)

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have received letters dated today from the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the Council's agenda, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. If I hear no objection I propose, in accordance with the usual practice of the Council and with the rules of procedure, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to take places at the Council table in order to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. Olcay (Turkey) and Mr. Megalokonomos (Greece) took places at the Security Council table.*

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This meeting of the Council has been convened pursuant to the request contained in the letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Council [S/11334], and in the letter dated 16 July 1974 from the representative of Cyprus to the President of the Council [S/11335].

5. The first speaker on my list is the Secretary-General, on whom I now call.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. President, as I explained to you in my letter, I requested you to convene a meeting of the Security Council in order to report to the Council on the information received through my Special Representative and the Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on recent developments in the island.

7. Members of the Council will recall that, in its first resolution on the Cyprus question, [*resolution 186 (1964)*], of 4 March 1964, the Council asked the Secretary-General to report periodically to the Council. I feel that the present situation fully warrants such a report by me. Members of the Council are aware that in the meantime the representative of Cyprus has also requested a meeting of the Council.

8. Early in the morning of 15 July, I received information from my Special Representative in Nicosia and the Commander of UNFICYP confirming reports of the events which were taking place in Cyprus. While the situation remained confused, the indications were that a coup was being staged against President Makarios by the National Guard. There were radio reports of the death of President Makarios. Those reports were not confirmed by UNFICYP and proved to be incorrect.

9. The Force Commander ordered an island-wide alert for UNFICYP personnel at 0100 hours on 15 July, and sentries were doubled. UNFICYP reported that the situation on the Turkish Cypriot side remained calm and that its leadership, having taken various security measures, had given instructions that Turkish Cypriots should avoid any involvement.

10. The Special Representative also transmitted to me the text of a special news bulletin broadcast over the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation at midday on 15 July, announcing that the National Guard had taken over authority in Cyprus.

11. At about noon New York time on 15 July, I received a further message from my Special Representative informing me that the UNFICYP Zone Commander in Limassol had reported that the Bishop of Paphos had informed him that he had received a radio message from President Makarios asking him to send a message to the representative of Cyprus requesting him to call forthwith for a meeting of the Security Council. My Special Representative added that he was not able to verify the authenticity of that message and in particular whether it emanated from Archbishop Makarios. In the circumstances I considered it my duty to communicate this message to the representative of Cyprus, at the same time mentioning the inability of UNFICYP to verify its authenticity.

12. On the morning of 15 July I discussed the situation with the President of the Security Council and gave him the information then at my disposal.

13. In view of the extreme seriousness of the developments just described, yesterday I addressed messages [*see S/11336*] to the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey emphasizing my deep concern and stressing the importance of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Cyprus. I also urged maximum restraint and the avoidance of any action which might give rise to further violence. This morning I received the answer of the Prime Minister of Greece [*see S/11337*]; I have been informed by the representative of Turkey that an answer from the Turkish Government is to be sent shortly.<sup>1</sup>

14. It will be recalled that the mandate of UNFICYP is in the context of the conflict between the two communities in Cyprus, and that UNFICYP is therefore deployed along the lines of confrontation between those two communities. For that reason, UNFICYP did not have direct observation of most of the areas of current fighting, which is related to rivalries within one community and is not on the lines of confrontation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

15. In the late afternoon of 15 July, I received a further report from my Special Representative. There were reports that President Makarios was alive and had broadcast a radio message to the Cypriot people. The situation in Nicosia and throughout the island was still confused. The airport was under the control of the National Guard. The Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation facilities were in the hands of the National Guard and were broadcasting announcements on behalf of the "Government of National Salvation". The Telecommunications Building was occupied by the National Guard and all internal and external communications controlled by it had been cut. The Presidential Palace was reported to be burned to the ground. Shooting had been reported during the morning from Limassol, Paphos and Famagusta. The Turkish Cypriot forces were on full alert and had manned all their positions. UNFICYP was maintaining its contacts with Vice-President Denktas and his associate, Mr. Orek, and my Representative was urging them to encourage the Turkish Cypriot community to remain calm.

16. At 1715 hours local time on 15 July the Senior Adviser and the Chief of Staff of UNFICYP visited Mr. Orek, who agreed to do his best to keep the Turkish Cypriot community calm. He added, however, that the community was deeply concerned at developments and was preoccupied that an attack might be made on it. Shooting was heard close to the Vice-President's office during this meeting.

17. The two UNFICYP officials then called on the Counsellor of the Turkish Embassy, who complained that a number of heavy weapons, including mortars, had been fired in the direction of the camps of the Turkish National Contingent, and that the electricity to one camp had been cut off. The UNFICYP officials

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently circulated as document S/11341.

said that despite present difficulties they would try to remedy the situation.

18. Subsequently, the Special Representative and the Force Commander briefed Vice-President Denktas on the day's developments and received assurances from him that he would do his best to see that the Turkish community exercised restraint.

19. The Special Representative and the Force Commander also called on Ambassador Inhan of Turkey, at his request, and were informed by him about the firing near the Turkish National Contingent camp. The Ambassador requested the Force Commander to intervene immediately with the National Guard to prevent any recurrence.

20. General Chand proceeded immediately with an escort to National Guard headquarters at Athalassa, where at 2030 hours he called upon the acting Commander of the National Guard. The Force Commander raised four matters of immediate importance:

(a) The report by the Turkish Ambassador that mortar bombs had been fired into the area of the Turkish National Contingent at Geunyeli;

(b) The report that firing had been directed towards the Turkish Cypriot sector in Nicosia;

(c) The fact that an UNFICYP helicopter had been fired upon;

(d) The importance of having UNFICYP enjoy full freedom of movement in accordance with its mandate; that United Nations vehicles with flags or personnel with UNFICYP identity cards should not be stopped or otherwise interfered with in their activities in relation to the intercommunal situation.

21. The Acting Commander of the National Guard stated that strict instructions had been issued to his troops not to fire at the Turkish National Contingent or at Turkish Cypriot areas; any such firing was accidental and regrettable. Strict instructions would be issued to prevent any recurrence of such firing. The firing at the UNFICYP helicopter was also described as accidental but instructions would be issued to prevent any recurrence. Lastly, the Acting Commander of the National Guard gave assurances that instructions not to interfere with the movements of UNFICYP would be issued.

22. During the night of 15/16 July, the Force Commander reported that firing of varying intensity had occurred in Nicosia, Famagusta, Larnaca, Limassol and Kyrenia. Unconfirmed reports indicated that as a result of the fighting 20 to 30 persons had been killed and more than 100 wounded in Nicosia alone. UNFICYP remained on full alert. All UNFICYP personnel were safe and there had been no casualties.

23. At 2100 hours on 15 July, I received a report from my Special Representative to the effect that the

UNFICYP Paphos District Commander had met Archbishop Makarios who invited the Special Representative to meet him on the following day—that is today. The Special Representative and the Force Commander saw the Archbishop at Paphos at 1000 hours today, 16 July. His main request was that the Security Council meeting should be held as soon as possible. He also asked the Special Representative to convey, through me, an appeal to all countries friendly to Cyprus to help Cyprus's independence and sovereignty. I informed the representative of Cyprus of the content of this interview.

24. When the two UNFICYP officials returned to their headquarters in Nicosia at 1230 hours, they received information that the Archbishop was seeking to be evacuated from Paphos. Subsequently it was reported that he was requesting United Nations protection. In view of the circumstances, I authorized UNFICYP to extend such protection to Archbishop Makarios on a humanitarian basis. In the meantime I have been informed that Archbishop Makarios has left the island.

25. I have followed the recent developments in Cyprus with the deepest concern. While the mandate of UNFICYP is specifically related to the conflict between the two communities in Cyprus and the Force cannot therefore be involved in the internal affairs of one of the communities, the repercussions of violent disturbances such as those of the past two days can very easily extend beyond the confines of one community. When this happens the matter becomes one of direct concern to UNFICYP under its mandate. As will be seen from this report, UNFICYP has been doing all it can to prevent the present violence from causing renewed intercommunal strife. Moreover, in the context of the Cyprus problem such events carry a serious risk of a threat to international peace and security in a much wider framework. For all these reasons, and in view of the Security Council's responsibilities in the Cyprus problem, I have felt it my duty to make this report to the Council today.

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Secretary-General for his very important statement.

27. The next speaker on my list is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

28. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The present case is a very particular one in that a coup was organized in Cyprus by a large number of officers who came from Greece to train and command the Cypriot National Guard, which had been created in consequence of the troubles that arose in 1963 and 1964. These officers were supposed to be acting, on the instructions of the Government of Cyprus, for the National Guard. In reality, however, they were entirely directed and instructed from Athens. The Government of Cyprus and Archbishop Makarios, its President, did not interfere with that direction from Athens in a military sense.

29. It emerged, however, that this batch of officers—not negligible in number; there were 650 of them—was becoming increasingly noxious to peace in Cyprus. It appears now that for some time they had been engaging in subversive propaganda. The Government did not take the matter very seriously; it did not consider it to be a matter for action. But a time arrived when the situation appeared to become more noxious and more dangerous than permissible. That occasioned a letter from Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus, to President Gizikis of Greece. In that letter, dated 2 July, Archbishop Makarios asked, as he had a right to do, that all of these 650 officers should be recalled from Cyprus for reasons which were stated in the letter and for which proof was established.

30. A reply in respect of this matter was being awaited when, all of a sudden—and as though by way of reply—these grave events that have just been described by the Secretary-General erupted.

31. The National Guard is the military arm of Cyprus. The men are Cypriots but all the officers, except for very junior ones, are from Greece and are commanded from Greece.

32. Since the troubles of 1964 the United Nations has been involved in Cyprus in an effort to find a peaceful solution of the problem. Indeed, the situation in Cyprus has been an item on the Security Council's agenda since 1963. Since 1964, and to this very day, Cyprus has been a concern of the United Nations. UNFICYP has been operating in Cyprus under the mandate given it by Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, under which it was established. Parallel to that peace-keeping effort there has been the peace-making effort through mediation. The peace-keeping function in Cyprus has proved to be very successful, indeed one of the most successful peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. The peace-making efforts, after following a course of mediation into which I need not enter now, took the course of intercommunal talks, local talks. Those intercommunal talks started in 1968 and were reactivated with the participation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and in the presence of two constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey.

33. In Cyprus, therefore, there has been, by consensus of all sides, an effort to solve the problem through peaceful means by negotiation. That effort has been progressing, and, in spite of difficulties that have arisen from time to time, progressing satisfactorily—to the point that at the last meeting, which was attended by the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, a statement was made by Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz showing that there were hopeful signs.

34. This balanced development and this peaceful progress towards an agreed solution, in accordance with resolution 186 (1964), was interrupted by the violent action which the Secretary-General has just

described: blood and fire all of a sudden, with a great number of tanks rolling through the streets of Cyprus, against an unarmed population and a mere police force. As I have said, this military intervention followed upon the aforesaid request of the President of Cyprus for the recall of these foreign-officer elements of the National Guard in Cyprus. I use the word "foreign" in the sense that Cyprus is an independent, separate State.

35. The full extent of the events which have to a certain extent been described by the Secretary-General is not yet known because all communications have been cut in this prearranged coup and it is very difficult for information to get out.

36. So that is the situation. It really speaks for itself: *res ipsa loquitur*. The world press well knows what is happening in Cyprus. Reports have been published in all the capitals of Europe and here. The President is now in Malta and is expected, we believe, to head for New York. As things are now, it is clear that the Security Council has a duty to act, even on the basis of the facts that it has.

37. UNFICYP, established under the resolution of the Security Council to which I have already referred, has as part of its mandate the duty to prevent fighting and to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and to a return to normal conditions. Of course, when the foregoing resolution was adopted it had in view the troubles between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. None the less, the bloodshed and fighting destroy the maintenance of law and order and would inevitably affect the progress that has been made under the resolution. Hence, UNFICYP has a duty to act in a constructive way towards preventing a deterioration of the situation.

38. Therefore, the Security Council is now meeting here, not in order to take new steps by sending a peace-keeping force to Cyprus, but only to reinforce its efforts and to extend them to deal with the new situation that has arisen. It would, I believe, be contrary to the principles of the Charter, the purpose of the United Nations and the very idea of preventing a deterioration of the situation in Cyprus—which, inevitably, would have unforeseen repercussions affecting international peace and security by violations of the Charter—for UNFICYP to remain inoperative, as a mere spectator. I shall therefore not dwell any longer on this subject at the present stage.

39. But I should like to point out that it is vitally important at this stage, with the information which is already in the hands of the Security Council and from which it can be seen that extensive bloodshed is taking place and fighting is continuing, to adopt a resolution concerning a cease-fire and the prevention of outside military intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus. Therefore, military officers who were there originally with the consent of the Cypriot Government—consent that was withdrawn as from the date of the letter from

President Makarios to the President of Greece, 2 July—should abandon the island so that calm, peace and normal conditions can return to the island on the basis of the *status quo* that existed and that had the consensus of all the parties concerned; and on the basis of that consensus *status quo*, the conduct of the talks for the solution of the problem should continue.

40. I need not dwell further upon the fact that there can be no doubt that the only legitimate and elected President of Cyprus is Archbishop Makarios.

41. In this situation, therefore, I believe that we must have a resolution today for the cessation of fighting and bloodshed through a cease-fire, and for the protection of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus from outside military intervention.

42. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your accession to the honourable and responsible post of President of the Security Council. We should also like to express our deep appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of Mauritania, who so fruitfully and successfully conducted the work of the Council in June.

43. The Council has met today at the request of the Secretary-General and the representative of Cyprus, Mr. Rossides, to consider the critical situation in Cyprus resulting from the intervention of outside forces which threaten the independence of the Republic of Cyprus and also international peace and security in the region. Time will not wait, and the Council must take the most urgent measures to protect the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member of the United Nations, the Republic of Cyprus.

44. As is well known, what we are concerned with is an armed *putsch* aimed at the violent overthrow of the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, headed by the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, who was elected to that post as a result of the free expression of the people's will. These events are the result of flagrant intervention by outside forces, which have done everything possible to prevent the attainment of a peaceful settlement in Cyprus and have deliberately and for far-reaching purposes aggravated the internal situation in the country.

45. What is happening in Cyprus today cannot be considered in isolation from the systematic subversive activities which have been carried on for many years by Greek officers in the service of the National Guard of Cyprus who are today at the head of the *putsch*.

46. A few days ago the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, demanded the recall of these Greek officers from the territory of Cyprus in connexion with their anti-Government activities. In his letter to the President of Greece, Mr. Gizikis, a letter to which the representative of Cyprus referred

here and whose contents were published by the head of the Cypriot State, he asked that the Government of Greece recall all Greek officers serving in the National Guard of the Republic of Cyprus. In that letter, President Makarios openly accused Athens of supporting and directing an underground terrorist organization, EOKA-B, and also of organizing attempts on his life.

47. What President Makarios warned of has now taken place. On the morning of 15 July, Greek military personnel—for whose actions the Government of Greece is responsible—openly took up arms against the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, against its lawfully elected President, and against the sovereignty and political independence of the Cypriot State. The whole world knows that the threads of the conspiracy against the legitimate Government of Cyprus, headed by President Makarios, go beyond the confines of the island, and lead to those forces which have long been hatching plots against the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and have advocated the absorption of Cyprus by Greece.

48. The anti-Government *putsch* in Cyprus, for which the Greek military clique and the Government of Greece are responsible, cannot be regarded otherwise than as an act which grossly flouts the Charter of the United Nations and the universally recognized rules of international law. Greece's armed intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus creates a serious threat to peace and security in that region of the world as a whole. The continuation of this intervention would mean that the Greek Government assumes serious responsibility for all the possible consequences.

49. The Soviet Union strongly condemns the armed *putsch* organized by outside forces against the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations. A TASS statement on the subject, published on 16 July, states:

“The Soviet people resolutely condemn the armed *putsch* in Cyprus organized by external forces against the legitimate Government of that country. The only legitimate Government, based on the will of the people, is the Government of President Makarios. The Soviet people are fully on the side of those who in this difficult hour for Cyprus are rebuffing the insurgents.

“TASS has been authorized to state that the anti-government *putsch* in Cyprus, for which the Greek military clique is responsible, is regarded in the Soviet Union as an act which grossly violates the Charter of the United Nations and the universally accepted rules of international law. Neither can one fail to see that such acts may give rise to serious international complications.”

The TASS statement goes on:

“In ruling circles in the Soviet Union it is expected that the Government of Greece will immediately put

an end to its gross intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus—a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations. The continuation of this intervention would mean that the Greek Government assumes serious responsibility for the consequences.

“In informed Soviet circles it has been reported that the Soviet Government is taking appropriate steps with the Governments of Greece and Turkey, and also with the United States, the United Kingdom and France, which, together with the Soviet Union, are permanent members of the Security Council”.

50. The Security Council, as the main organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, considering the seriousness of the situation which has arisen, must urgently take the necessary decisive measures aimed at putting an immediate end to the armed intervention by the Greek military clique in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus and ensuring the immediate withdrawal of the Greek military personnel present in the territory of Cyprus. Accordingly, we fully support the proposals and demands that have been voiced here by the representative of Cyprus.

51. Time will not wait. The sovereignty, freedom and independence of the Republic of Cyprus—a State Member of the United Nations—depend on urgent and decisive action by the Security Council.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

53. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is an honour for me to take part in a meeting of the Security Council over which you are presiding. I should like to thank you as well as the members of the Council for this opportunity to appear here.

54. The Security Council is meeting once again in circumstances that could be described as dramatic, if not tragic, to consider the latest developments in Cyprus, so eloquently set forth a few minutes ago by the Secretary-General.

55. Turkey has the sad satisfaction of seeing confirmed its most pessimistic predictions with regard to Greek intentions vis-à-vis the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, this time through a coup d'état, which seems to have been mounted in Athens and carried out through the support of the Greek armed forces in Cyprus with the complicity of the worst elements in the island, which the international press has elaborately described in terms as frank as they are colourful—elements which have vowed to annex Cyprus to Greece, and which have never concealed their violently anti-Turkish sentiments.

56. The Greek intervention—because it is indeed an intervention—is in flagrant violation of the rights conferred upon Greece by the treaties and agreements to which it subscribed jointly with Turkey and the United Kingdom. Moreover, this intervention was fostered, and the coup carried out, by Greek troops, whose presence, in numbers vastly greater than had been provided for in the international agreements, has always been a source of grave concern to the Turkish community of the island and also an element of imbalance in Greek—Turkish relations.

57. I do not wish to dwell on the strange explanation given for the presence and illegal activity of the Greek forces in Cyprus; I shall leave it to members of the Council to draw the appropriate conclusions. But I must stress that the violence committed by Greeks against Greeks, this fratricidal fury that has taken place these past days before the eyes of the whole world, should serve as a warning to those who so far have failed to appreciate the feeling of insecurity and lack of confidence on the part of the Turks vis-à-vis the Greeks in Cyprus.

58. Turkey has always maintained and proclaimed, as the verbatim records of the Council bear witness, its attachment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, based on equality before the law and responsibility with regard to the political future of the two communities of the island which constitute its population.

59. I have had occasion to state here that the Turkish community is in fact the only guarantee of the independence of Cyprus. I could not have foreseen that events would bear me out in such a short time. At present, the only institution in Cyprus having a legitimate constitutional basis happens to be the Turkish Cypriot administration, which continues to maintain with the United Nations, through the representative of the Secretary-General and the UNFICYP administration, the only legitimate relations provided for in the spirit and letter of the United Nations resolutions, in particular resolution 186 (1964). The Turkish Cypriot administration is at present more than ever dissociated from the Greek Cypriot administration.

60. In the view of the Turkish Government, the United Nations should as a matter of priority ensure that the balance of forces, so deeply disturbed to the detriment of the Turkish community, be re-established to the extent possible and that, to that end, all necessary measures be taken under effective control in order to prohibit any illicit entry of armaments, troops or munitions into Cyprus. That is all the more urgent since today in Cyprus the periodic change of part of the Greek contingent stationed there takes place in compliance with the agreements of 1960. Strict supervision of that operation is more necessary than ever.

61. The measures to which I have just referred are imperative if a semblance of order and security concerning the rights and legitimate interests of the



Turkish community is to have any possibility of being maintained.

62. Turkey, a country which is a guarantor of the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus in conformity with the Zurich and London agreements, follows with calm resolve the developments in Cyprus—despite certain provocations that have been mentioned by the Secretary-General—because it is very sure of how well-founded are its rights and those of the Turkish communities of the island. Once again it wishes to proclaim its devotion to a peaceful solution to the problems of the island. At the same time, it none the less wishes to leave no trace of a doubt with regard to its intention to safeguard its legitimate rights and interests as they have been enshrined in international agreements, as well as those of the Turkish community in Cyprus, which for more than 10 years has suffered because of conditions brought about by machinations which the events of the past 24 hours have finally disclosed to the whole world.

63. I thank you for having given me the floor, Mr. President, I reserve my right to speak again should it be necessary.

64. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council. I should also like to associate myself with the words of praise you addressed to your predecessor, Ambassador El Hassen, of Mauritania, who presided over the Council with particular distinction in June. I should also like to associate myself with the tribute you paid to the outstanding figure of the late President Perón, who died recently, and with the condolences which you addressed to our friend Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas.

65. Once again the Security Council is meeting to consider the case of Cyprus. But we are meeting today in particularly dramatic and, indeed, unprecedented circumstances—unprecedented in the history of the young Republic. These circumstances have led the nine members of the European Community to consider the situation jointly. After consultations, which took place today in Paris, the nine Governments have agreed on the text of a communiqué expressing their common position, which I shall now make known to the Council as representative of a country which since 1 July has held the presidency of the Community. Here is the text:

“The nine Governments of the countries members of the Community have held consultations on the situation in Cyprus, and they wish to make known their lively concern at events which seriously threaten stability in the eastern Mediterranean. They reaffirm their dedication to the independence and the territorial integrity of Cyprus and their opposition to any intervention or interference which might jeopardize it. They have requested the French President to make their common position known to the Governments concerned.”

66. I reserve the right to speak again, as appropriate, to express the particular views of my Government in the light of any further information that may be forthcoming in the course of this debate.

67. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Before turning to the matters under consideration, may I, Mr. President, join those who have expressed their congratulations to you upon your assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. May I also join those who have paid a tribute to your immediate predecessor, the representative of Mauritania.

68. My delegation is indebted to the Secretary-General for informing the Council of the part which UNFICYP is playing and how he envisages its discharging its mandate in the new circumstances. In so far as this meeting of the Council has the object of informing the Council, and, indeed, of informing the world, of exactly what has taken place in Cyprus in the last two days, it is an objective with which we would wish to be associated.

69. The British Government has a very special interest in Cyprus. As people will know, we have a history of a close connexion with that island for many years. Cyprus is a member of the Commonwealth; indeed, President Makarios himself is the senior Commonwealth head of Government. May I say that we are extremely relieved and heartened at the news that he is still alive.

70. Members of the Council may wish to know that earlier today President Makarios at his own request, left Cyprus on board a British aircraft via one of the British sovereign-base areas. The British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary today announced in the House of Commons that President Makarios had requested that he should be allowed to enter the Akrotiri base on Cyprus and that we had agreed to that request.

71. I understand that the position now is that President Makarios is in Malta, and I believe that an announcement to that effect was made in Malta at 4.30 this afternoon New York time. If President Makarios is indeed on his way to New York, as the representative of Cyprus told us, it would seem to me sensible that this Council should wait and see what it is that President Makarios has to tell us, what he himself would wish us to do, and how he sees the situation which has arisen on the island, of which he was, until today, the person in control.

72. The events of yesterday and today are a severe blow to the achievement of our common objective of peace and security in Cyprus. The situation on the ground is still very far from clear. What is, however, tragically evident is that armed force has been used against the Government of President Makarios, the elected leader of his country. There has been bloodshed and there has been suffering, and this, I am sure, we

all strongly regret. But the full facts are not yet available. It is nevertheless clear that the present situation is a highly explosive one, not only for Cyprus itself, but possibly for the peace of that whole area of the Mediterranean. It puts at risk the work of the United Nations as a whole for preserving international peace and security in the area, and very great statesmanship and restraint will need to be shown.

73. What I think would clearly be wrong would be for us here today to attempt to apportion final responsibility and to attempt to assess final blame. That may come hereafter, but only if and when we know precisely what has happened and who has instigated it. If in the event it turns out that external intervention has occasioned this coup, then we would all condemn it. But today it is frankly not possible to arrive at that final judgement.

74. The British Government has been in close touch, over the past 36 hours, with other interested Governments. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary who stressed that the situation contains grave risks and that it is of great importance that peace be restored as soon as possible, gave details of those exchanges in the House of Commons today. I wonder if I may quote just one paragraph from what he said. In relation to the Greek Government, the Foreign Secretary said:

"I can only re-emphasize that we attach the utmost importance to that Government's carrying out and making tangible the statements which they have made on their attitude to Cyprus. If they do so, the cause of tension will be very much less than it appears to be at present."

75. But in the absence of precise information, I see no merit in the Council's now attempting to determine the precise causes of the fighting or, as I say, to apportion the final blame. Our main concern here today should be to try to avert the dangers to the peace of the area and to preserve intact the international work for peace which has gone on there over the past 10 years. We look to those concerned to exercise statesmanship and restraint, particularly the Governments of Greece and Turkey.

76. May I say that we would associate ourselves, of course, with the statement made by the representative of France on behalf of the European Community.

77. We are confident that UNFICYP will continue to play its part in ensuring that intercommunal violence is avoided. I hope that other delegations, as interested as we are in restoring tranquillity and continuing the work for a lasting peace, will join in this appeal. I hope, also, that those who speak this afternoon will recognize that restraint in their language today may mean that fewer people will die tomorrow.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Greece, on whom I now call.

79. Mr. MEGALOKONOMOS (Greece): Mr. President, first of all I wish to thank you and the members of the Council for permitting my delegation to take the floor on the item under discussion. If I have asked for the floor, it was for the unique purpose of refuting vehemently and categorically, upon instructions of my Government, all the allegations that were made in this room this afternoon by some delegations.

80. I must say that I very sincerely regret that, by an unforeseeable and strange fate, my delegation is obliged to reply also to Ambassador Rossides, for whom I personally have deep and heartfelt respect. The events that took place yesterday in Cyprus, and continue today, are, in the opinion of my Government, an internal affair of the Republic of Cyprus; and my Government, apart from following the situation with keen and well justified interest, has no relation whatsoever with their origin or incitement. The policy of the Hellenic Government, expressed many times in this room, remains unchanged. My Government, as was reiterated by the message of the Greek Prime Minister to the Secretary-General this morning, is still convinced that the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus, as well as the unitary character of the Republic, should be maintained and respected by all parties concerned.

81. It was said by some delegations that the main role was played by a great number of Greek officers. I am aware of a malicious campaign being conducted by certain news media concerning the alleged role of the Greek officers in Cyprus. My delegation wishes to underline here that those allegations, published in a very hasty way, are totally unfounded. I must stress, also, a point that was not mentioned by those who were too eager to accuse the Greek Government, without proof, for the events which have taken place in Cyprus.

82. I am not going deeply into the affair, but I would just make the point that the National Guard in Cyprus consists of about 10,000 men, all of them Cypriots, and that the officers of this corps are not solely trained officers from Greece, a large number of them being Greek Cypriot officers. I do not want to elaborate on that any more, but those who accused my Government forget also that the National Guard was exclusively under the authority and the responsibility of the Cypriot Government, consisting therefore of a uniquely Cypriot corps under the sole authority of the Cyprus Republic. This is one more reason, if it were needed, to reiterate and to conclude that the events in Cyprus are an exclusively internal affair of the Republic.

83. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): The United States strongly deplores the violence which has upset the delicate balance on the island of Cyprus. Unhappily, such violence and bloodshed have all too often influenced the fate of that republic.

84. We have listened with keen attention to the report of the Secretary-General on recent developments there. I am sure that all of us share a common sense

of relief that Archbishop Makarios is alive and free. Unfortunately, there is much more we still do not know about the emerging situation on Cyprus, and it is difficult at this moment to see clearly whether and how the Council could make a positive contribution.

85. We continue to support the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and its existing constitutional arrangements. We urge all other States to support a similar policy. We wish to urge in particular that all interested parties exercise the utmost restraint and statesmanship and avoid actions which might further worsen the situation.

86. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

87. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I have asked to speak to reply to a statement made by my colleague and friend the representative of Greece.

88. The representative of Greece said that the National Guard in Cyprus was under the complete control of the Government. It was not. The Government had the right to control the National Guard, but, as I said in my statement to the Council, it did not interfere with the command of the force from Athens. That was so true that in his letter to the President of Greece President Makarios had to say: "Please do not forget that the National Guard is a Cypriot army, not a Greek army. Therefore it should come under the control of the Government of Cyprus. That control has not been exercised so far, but now I request that all these officers be recalled."

89. Even that request by the President of Cyprus was not acceded to by those who were indeed in control of the force. There are Cypriot officers, but they are very few in number and are on a very low level. The command was entirely out of the hands of Cyprus. That was the complaint made by Archbishop Makarios in his letter of 2 July, which, it appears, was resented.

90. I should like to comment on another aspect, which related to something that has been said by some of the most distinguished members of the Security Council and that I would ask to be allowed to disagree with. I refer to the notion that when fighting and bloodshed are taking place, when there is to a very great extent a violation of human rights, the Security Council should be so reluctant to adopt any resolution for a cease-fire. With all due respect I must say that that seems to me to be inconsistent both with the principles of the Charter and with the purposes of the United Nations. Whatever the details may be, whether the blame should be put on A or B, the fighting must be stopped. That is the first, the paramount duty of the Security Council when it meets in a situation when fighting is still going on. And fighting is continuing in Cyprus. The latest reports are that tanks are moving towards Paphos, where there is strong resistance. We anticipate more bloodshed and fighting today, with great sacrifice of life. That cannot be disregarded by means of a statement that "We want to know all the details". The details are not required to stop the bloodshed. That is a matter of general principles. It is Cyprus today; it may be another country tomorrow. Too often we have seen the Security Council adjourning while fighting and bloodshed are still going on.

91. I take this opportunity today to put this issue before the Security Council and the United Nations in general. When a cause involving bloodshed and human rights comes before the Security Council, it is not permissible to seek an opportunity to evade a resolution. It is not reasonable for any member of the Council to suggest or to support a suggestion that the Council should adjourn and allow fighting and bloodshed to go on, on the mere excuse that additional details are required. Such details do not make any difference at all to the need to stop the fighting and bloodshed. For, whatever the details—and on whomsoever the blame should be affixed, the fighting must in any case stop. That is my submission, which I make with all humility to the Council.

*The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.*

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